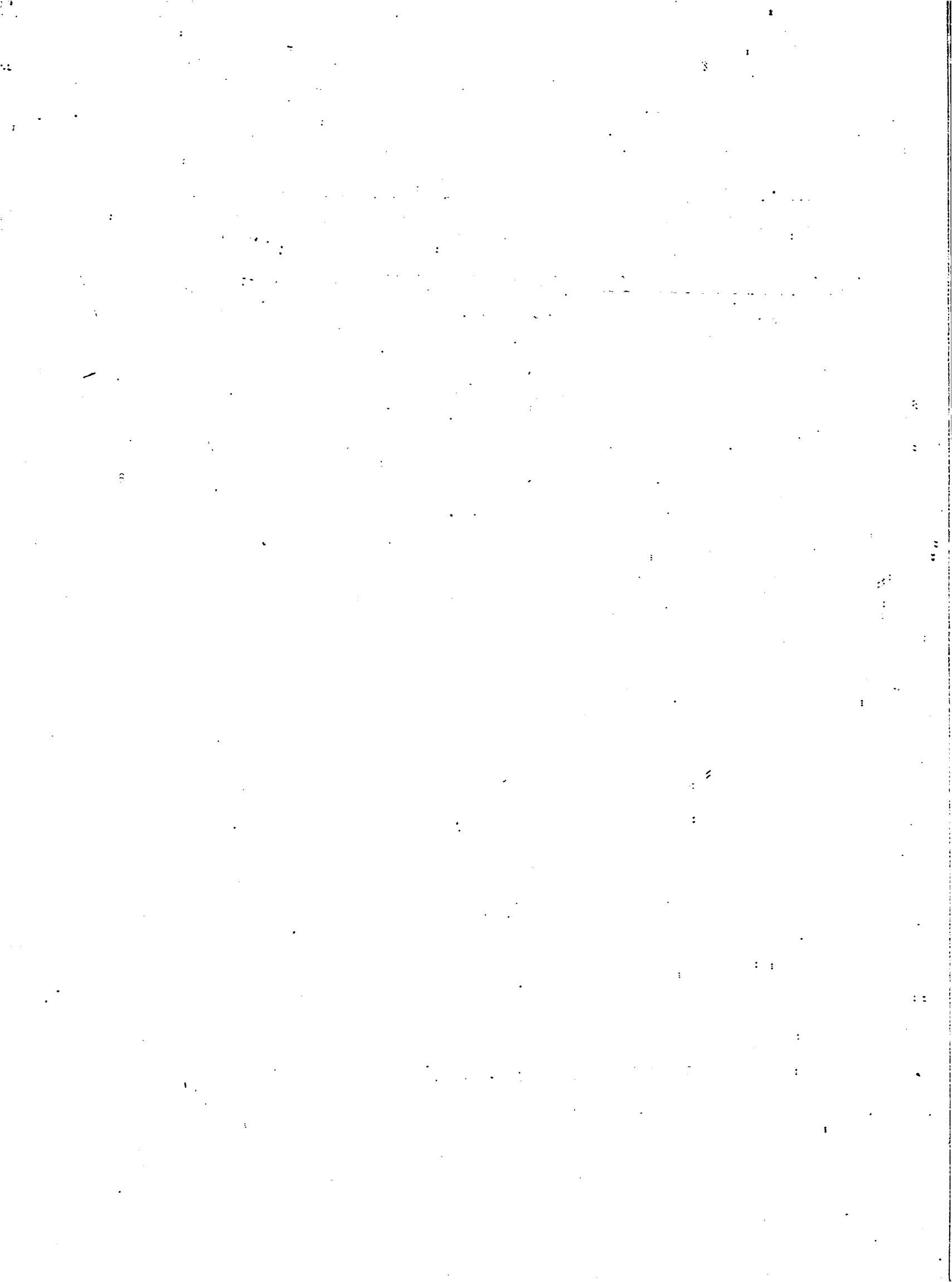


**THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**
(DOCUMENTS)

Special Supplement to CHINA RECONSTRUCTS

November 1973





The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held solemnly in Peking from August 24 to 28. The great leader of our Party Comrade Mao Tsetung presided over the congress.

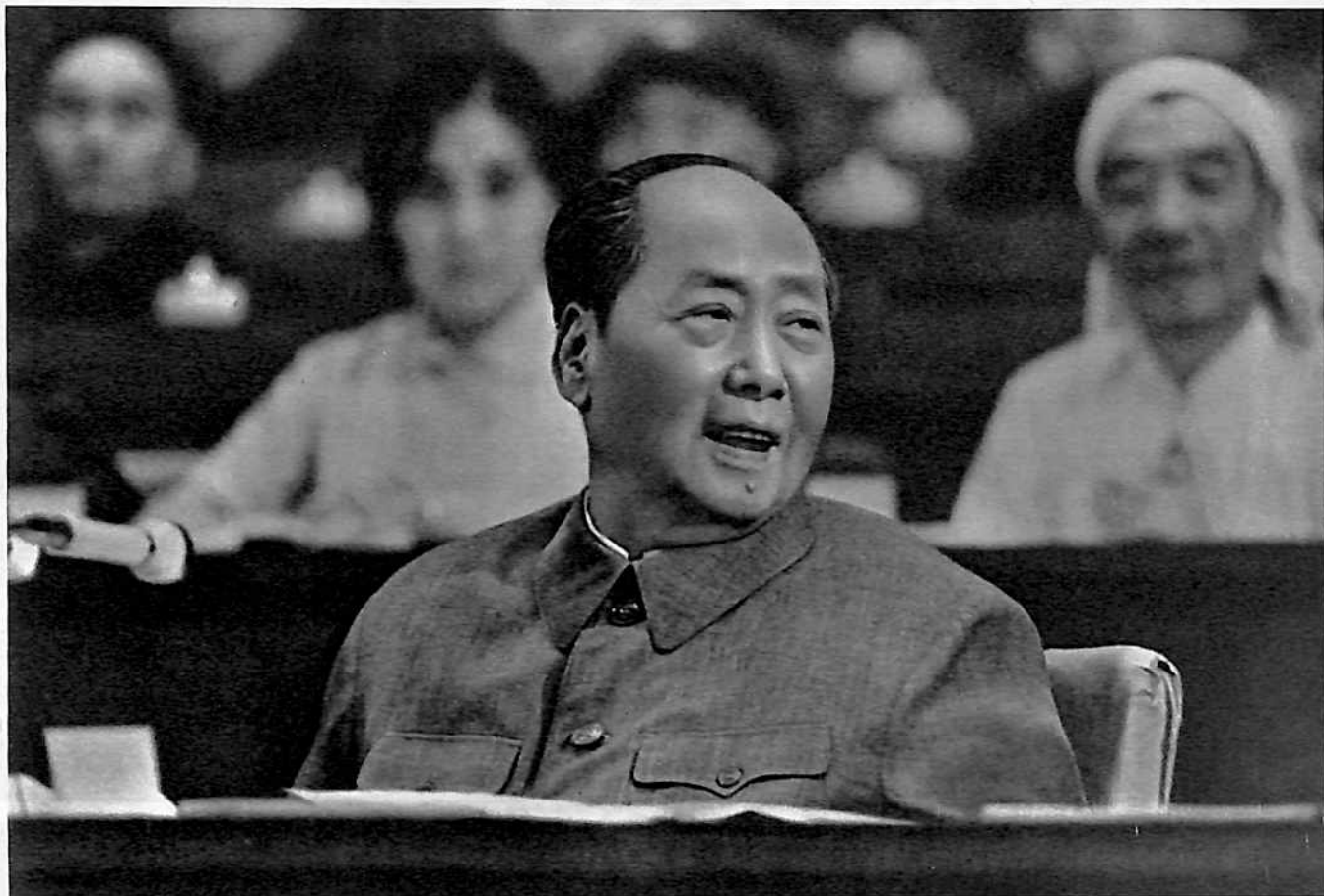
Upper right:
Comrades Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai
and Wang Hung-wen on the rostrum
at the Tenth National Congress of
the Communist Party of China.

Right:
The Tenth National Congress of the
Communist Party of China was a
congress of unity, a congress of
victory and a congress full of vigor.
Here is the rostrum of the congress.



中国共产党第十次全国代表大会





Comrade Mao Tsetung on the rostrum at the congress.



From the left: Comrades Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng and Li Teh-sheng on the rostrum.



From the right: Comrades Wang Hung-wen and Yeh Chien-ying on the rostrum.



From the left: Comrades Liu Po-cheng, Chu Teh and Chen Hsi-lfen on the rostrum.



From the right: Comrades Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching on the rostrum.



From the left: Comrades Yao Wen-yuan, Chi Teng-kuei and Hua Kuo-feng on the rostrum.



From the right: Comrades Hsu Shih-yu, Li Hsien-nien and Tung Pi-wu on the rostrum.



From the right: Comrades Wang Tung-hsing and Wu Teh on the rostrum.



On the rostrum at the congress.

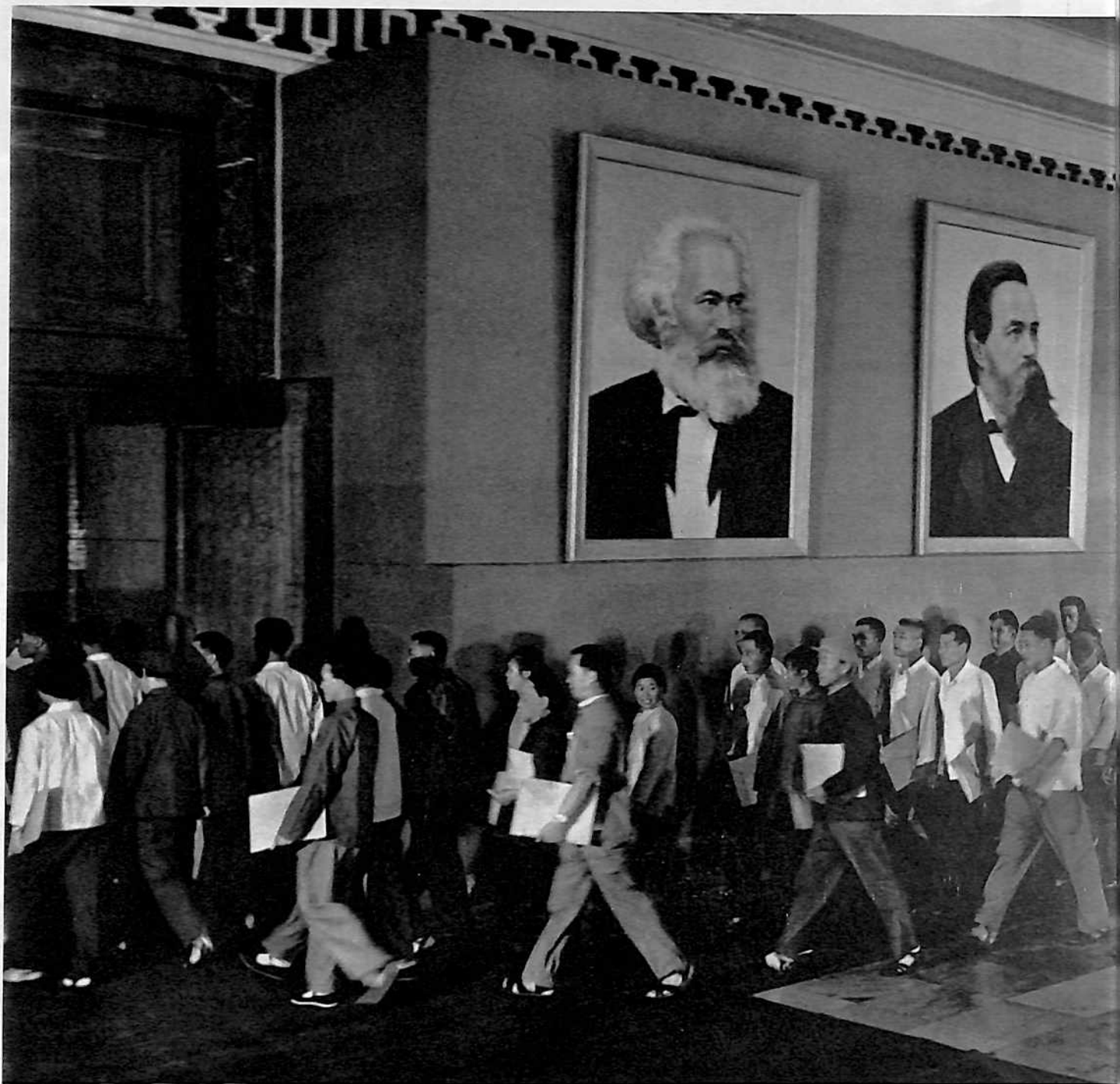
When Chairman Mao appeared on the rostrum, cheers resounded through the hall. The delegates excitedly greeted him with prolonged and hearty applause and cheered, "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"





On the rostrum at the congress.





REPORT TO THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

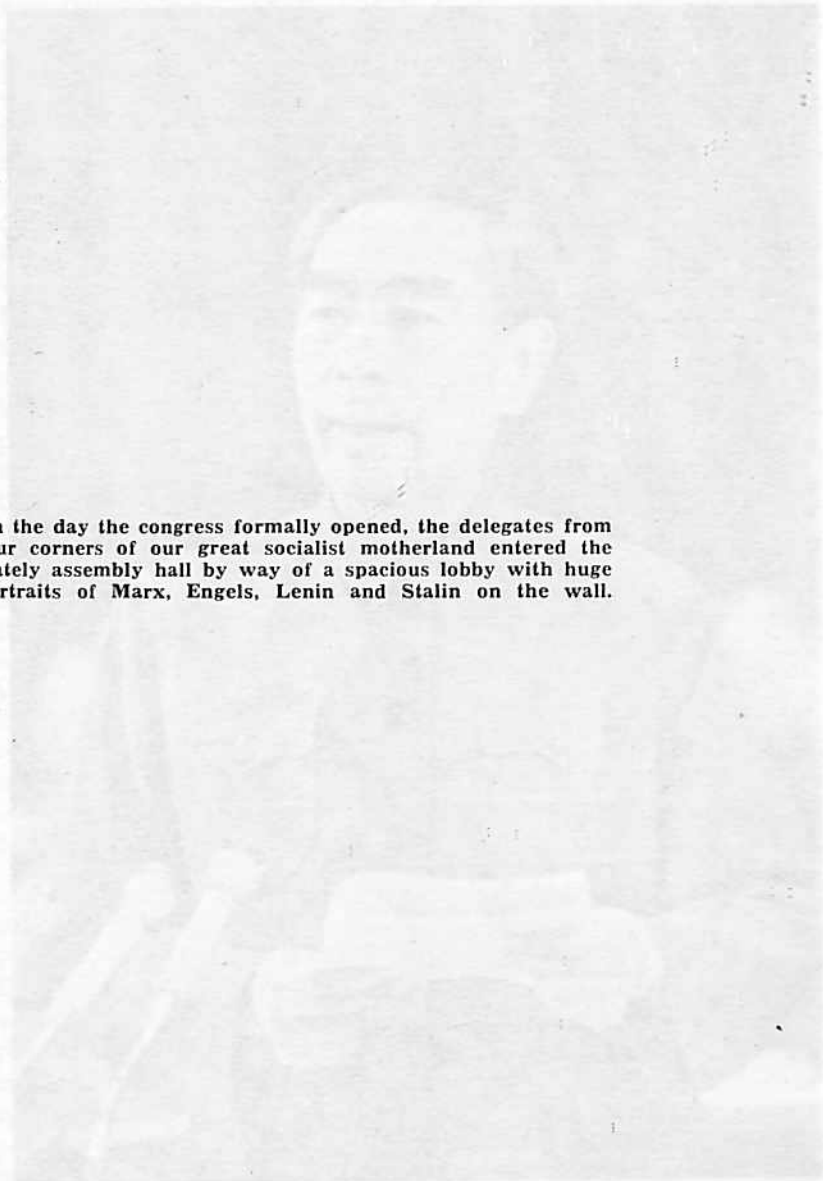
Delivered on August 24 and 25, 1958, at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Beijing, China.

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is convened at a time when the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great success in its work. The Party's Ninth National Congress has won great success in its work. The Party's Ninth National Congress has won great success in its work.

On the Line of the Ninth National Congress



On the day the congress formally opened, the delegates from four corners of our great socialist motherland entered the stately assembly hall by way of a spacious lobby with huge portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the wall.



our people first is the consideration of the interests of the people. We must realize that the people throughout the country are united in their desire for the leadership of the Communist Party. The Party's Ninth National Congress will have to be carried out in the spirit of the Party's Ninth National Congress and the Party's Ninth National Congress will have to be carried out in the spirit of the Party's Ninth National Congress.

REPORT TO THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

(Delivered on August 24 and adopted on August 28, 1973)

Chou En-lai

Comrades!

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is convened at a time when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great

victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent.

On behalf of the Central Committee, I am making this report to the Tenth National Congress. The main subjects are: On the line of the Ninth National Congress, on the victory of smashing the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and on the situation and our tasks.

On the Line of the Ninth National Congress



The Party's Ninth Congress was held when great victories had been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao.

In accordance with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Ninth Congress summed up the experience of history as well as the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, criticized Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line and reaffirmed the basic line and policies of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism. As comrades may recall, when the Ninth Congress opened on April 1, 1969, Chairman Mao issued the great call, "Unite to win still greater victories." At the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee on April 28 of the same year, Chairman Mao once again clearly stated: "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat." "We must ensure that the people throughout the country are united to win victory under the leadership of the proletariat." In addition he predicted: "Probably another revolution will have to be carried out after several years." Chairman Mao's speeches and the political report of the Central Committee adopted at the congress formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our Party.

As we all know, the political report to the Ninth Congress was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. Prior to the congress, Lin Piao had produced a draft political report in collaboration with

Chen Po-ta. They were opposed to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, contending that the main task after the Ninth Congress was to develop production. This was a refurbished version under new conditions of the same revisionist trash that Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta had smuggled into the resolution of the Eighth Congress, which alleged that the major contradiction in our country was not the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but that "between the advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces of society." Naturally, this draft by Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta was rejected by the Central Committee. Lin Piao secretly supported Chen Po-ta in the latter's open opposition to the political report drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance, and it was only after his attempts were frustrated that Lin Piao grudgingly accepted the political line of the Central Committee and read its political report to the congress. However, during and after the Ninth Congress, Lin Piao continued with his conspiracy and sabotage in spite of the admonishments, rebuffs and efforts to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee. He went further to start a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, which was aborted, at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee in August 1970, then in March 1971 he drew up the plan for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat entitled Outline of Project "571", and on September 8, he launched the coup in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a rival central committee. On September 13, after his conspiracy had collapsed, Lin Piao surreptitiously boarded a plane, fled as a defector to the Soviet revisionists in betrayal of the Party and country and died in a crash at Undur Khan in the People's Republic of Mongolia.

The shattering of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique is our Party's greatest victory since the Ninth Congress and a heavy blow dealt to enemies at home and abroad. After the September 13th incident, the whole Party, the whole Army and the hundreds of millions of people of all nationalities in our country seriously discussed the matter and expressed their intense proletarian indignation at the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his sworn followers, and pledged resolute support for our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee which he headed. A movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work has been launched throughout the country. The whole Party, Army and people have been conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, conducting revolutionary mass criticism of Lin Piao and other swindlers like him and

settling accounts with the counter-revolutionary crimes of these swindlers ideologically, politically and organizationally, and have raised their own ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. As facts showed, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was only a tiny group which was extremely isolated in the midst of the whole Party, Army and people and could not affect the situation as a whole. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique has not stemmed, nor could it possibly have stemmed the rolling torrent of the Chinese people's revolution. On the contrary, what it did further aroused the whole Party, Army and people to "unite to win still greater victories."

Thanks to the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the line of the Ninth Congress is more deeply rooted among the people. The line of the Ninth Congress and the proletarian policies of the Party have been implemented better than before. New achievements have been made in struggle-criticism-transformation in all realms of the superstructure. The working style of seeking truth from facts and following the mass line and the glorious tradition of modesty, prudence and hard work, which were for a time impaired by Lin Piao, have been further developed. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which won fresh merit in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has made new contributions in strengthening the preparations against war and in taking part in revolution and construction together with the people. The great revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance is stronger than ever. Having rid itself of the stale and taken in the fresh, our Party, with a membership of twenty-eight million, is now an even more vigorous vanguard of the proletariat.

Spurred by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the people of our country overcame the sabotage by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, surmounted serious natural disasters and scored new victories in socialist construction. Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements in culture, education, public health, science and technology.

In the international sphere, our Party and Government have firmly implemented the foreign policy laid down by the Ninth Congress. Our revolutionary friendship with fraternal socialist countries and with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of various countries and our co-operation with friendly countries have been further

strengthened. Our country has established diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. The legitimate status of our country in the United Nations has been restored. The policy of isolating China has gone bankrupt; Sino-U.S. relations have been improved to some extent. China and Japan have normalized their relations. Friendly contacts between our people and the people of other countries are more extensive than ever; we assist and

support each other, impelling the world situation to continue to develop in the direction favourable to the people of all countries.

Revolutionary practice since the Ninth Congress and chiefly the practice of the struggle against the Lin Piao anti-Party clique have proved that the political and organizational lines of the Ninth Congress are both correct and that the leadership given by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao is correct.

On the Victory of Smashing the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique

The course of the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and the crimes of the clique are already known to the whole Party, Army and people. So, there is no need to dwell on it here.

Marxism-Leninism holds that inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. The Liu Shao-chi renegade clique collapsed and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique sprang out to continue the trial of strength with the proletariat. This was an acute expression of the intense domestic and international class struggles.

As early as January 13, 1967, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was at high tide, Brezhnev, the chief of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, frantically attacked China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in his speech at a mass rally in Gorky Region and openly declared that they stood on the side of the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique, saying that the downfall of this clique was "a big tragedy for all real communists in China, and we express our deep sympathy to them." At the same time, Brezhnev publicly announced continuation of the policy of subverting the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and ranted about "struggling . . . for bringing it back to the road of internationalism." (*Pravda*, January 14, 1967) In March 1967 another chief of the Soviet revisionists said even more brazenly at mass rallies in Moscow that "sooner or later the healthy forces expressing the true interests of China will have their decisive say," "and achieve the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas in their great country." (*Pravda*, March 4 and 10, 1967) What they called "healthy forces" are nothing but the decadent forces representing the interests of social-imperialism and all the exploiting class; what they meant by "their decisive say" is the usurpation of the supreme power of the Party and the state; what they meant by "victory of ideas" is the reign of sham Marxism-Leninism and real revisionism over China; and what they meant by the "road of internationalism" is the road of reducing China to a colony of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The Brezhnev renegade clique has impetuously voiced the common wish of the reactionaries and blurted out the ultra-Rightist nature of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

Lin Piao and his handful of sworn followers were a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique "who never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in hand and never opened their mouths without shouting 'Long Live' and who spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back." The essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line they pursued and the criminal aim of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat they launched were to usurp the supreme power of the Party and the state, thoroughly betray the line of the Ninth Congress, radically change the Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and bourgeois classes, which our Party, Army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, communism and revolution.

Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our Party not just for one decade but for several decades. On his part there was a process of development and self-exposure, and on our part there was also a process of getting to know him. Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that "all previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." Chairman Mao has made "working for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world" one of the principal requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, and it has been written into our Party Constitution. To build a party for the interests of the vast majority or for the interests of the minority? This is the watershed between proletarian and bourgeois political parties and the touchstone for distinguishing true Communists from false.

Lin Piao joined the Communist Party in the early days of China's new-democratic revolution. Even at that time he was pessimistic about the future of the Chinese revolution. Right after the Kutien Meeting [December 1929 — Tr.], Chairman Mao wrote a long letter "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire" to Lin Piao, trying seriously and patiently to educate him. But, as the facts later proved, Lin Piao's bourgeois idealist world outlook was not at all remoulded. At important junctures of the revolution he invariably committed Right opportunist errors and invariably played double-faced tricks, putting up a false front to deceive the Party and the people. However, as the Chinese revolution developed further and especially when it turned socialist in nature and became more and more thoroughgoing, aiming at the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism, Lin Piao and his like, who were capitalist-roaders in power working only for the interests of the minority and whose ambition grew with the rise of their positions, overestimating their own strength and underestimating the strength of the people, could no longer remain under cover and therefore sprang out for a trial of strength with the proletariat. When under the baton of Soviet revisionism he attempted to have his "decisive say" in order to serve the needs of domestic and foreign class enemies, his exposure and bankruptcy became complete.

Engels rightly said, "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles. . . . And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out. . . ." (Frederick Engels' letter to August Bebel, October 28, 1882)

Comrades!

In the last fifty years our Party has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines. The collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique does not mean the end of the two-line struggle within the Party. Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have the capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society. In the future, even after classes have disappeared, there will still be contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. And there will still be two-line struggles reflecting these contradictions, i.e., struggles between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous. Moreover, so-

cialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. For a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party, reflecting these contradictions, and such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. Lin Piao will appear again and so will persons like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and Kao Kang. This is something independent of man's will. Therefore, all comrades in our Party must be fully prepared mentally for the struggles in the long years to come and be able to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory for the proletariat, no matter how the class enemy may change his tactics.

Chairman Mao teaches us that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our Party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx. Lin Piao wanted to "have everything under his command and everything at his disposal," but he ended up in having nothing under his command and nothing at his disposal. The crux of the matter is line. This is an irrefutable truth.

Chairman Mao has laid down for our Party the basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism and also specific lines and policies for specific work. We should attach importance not only to the Party's lines and policies for specific work but, in particular, to its basic line and policies. This is the fundamental guarantee of greater victories for our Party.

Having summed up the experience gained in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party and particularly the experience acquired in the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao calls on the whole Party: "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." He thus puts forward the criterion for distinguishing the correct line from the erroneous line, and gives the three basic principles every Party member must observe. Every one of our comrades must keep these three principles firmly in mind, uphold them and energetically and correctly carry on the two-line struggle within the Party.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that one tendency covers another. The opposition to Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism which advocated "all alliance, no struggle" covered Wang Ming's "Left" opportunism which advocated

“all struggle, no alliance.” The rectification of Wang Ming’s “Left” deviation covered Wang Ming’s Right deviation. The struggle against Liu Shao-chi’s revisionism covered Lin Piao’s revisionism. There were many instances in the past where one tendency covered another and when a tide came, the majority went along with it, while only a few withstood it. Today, in both international and domestic struggles, tendencies may still occur similar to those of the past, namely, when there was an alliance with the bourgeoisie, necessary struggles were forgotten and when there was a split with the bourgeoisie, the possibility of an alliance under given conditions was forgotten. It is required of us to do our best to discern and rectify such tendencies in time. And when a wrong tendency surges towards us like a rising tide, we must not fear isolation and must dare to go against the tide and brave it through. Chairman Mao states, “Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.” In daring to go against the tide and adhere to the correct line in the ten struggles between the two lines within the Party, Chairman Mao is our example and teacher. Every one of our comrades should learn well from Chairman Mao and hold to this principle.

Under the guidance of the correct line represented by Chairman Mao, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has had prolonged trials of strength with the class enemies both inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, armed and unarmed, overt and covert. Our Party has not been divided or crushed. On the contrary, Chairman Mao’s Marxist-Leninist line has further developed and our Party grown ever stronger. Historical experience convinces us that “this Party of ours has a bright future.” Just as Chairman Mao predicted in 1966, “If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d’etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population.” So long as our whole Party bears in mind historical experience, and upholds Chairman Mao’s correct line, all the schemes of the bourgeoisie for restoration are bound to fail. No matter how many more major struggles between the two lines may occur, the laws of history will not change, and the revolution in China and the world will eventually triumph.

On the Situation and Our Tasks

Chairman Mao has often taught us: We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. On the basis of fundamental Marxist principle, Lenin made a scientific analysis of imperialism and defined “imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism.” Lenin pointed out that imperialism is monopolistic capitalism, parasitic or decaying capitalism, moribund capitalism. He also said that imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to the extreme. He therefore concluded that “imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat,” and put forward the theories and tactics of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. Stalin said, “Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.” This is entirely correct. Since Lenin’s death, the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today.

The present international situation is one characterized by great disorder on the earth. “The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains.” This aptly depicts how the basic world contradictions as analysed by Lenin show themselves today. Relaxation is a temporary and superficial phenomenon, and great disorder will continue. Such great disorder is a good thing for the people, not a bad thing. It throws the enemies into confusion and causes division among them, while it arouses and tempers the people, thus helping the international situation develop further in the direction favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The awakening and growth of the Third World is a major event in contemporary international relations. The Third World has strengthened its unity in the struggle against hegemonism and power politics of the superpowers and is playing an ever more significant role in international affairs. The great victories won by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have strongly encouraged the people of the world in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism and colonialism. A new situation has emerged in the Korean people’s struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against aggression by Israeli Zionism, the African peoples’ struggles against colonialism and racial discrimination and the Latin American peoples’ struggles for maintaining 200-nautical-mile territorial waters or economic zones all continue to forge ahead. The struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and defend national independence and safeguard state sovereignty and national resources have further deepened and broadened. The just struggles of the Third World as well as of the people of Europe, North America and Oceania support and encourage each other. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible historical trend.

Lenin said that “an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony.” Today, it is mainly the two nuclear superpowers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — that are contending for hegemony. While hawk-

ing disarmament, they are actually expanding their armaments every day. Their purpose is to contend for world hegemony. They contend as well as collude with each other. Their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary. The declaration of this year as the "year of Europe" and the convocation of the European Security Conference indicate that strategically the key point of their contention is Europe. The West always wants to urge the Soviet revisionists eastward to divert the peril towards China, and it would be fine so long as all is quiet in the West. China is an attractive piece of meat coveted by all. But this piece of meat is very tough, and for years no one has been able to bite into it. It is even more difficult now that Lin Piao the "super-spy" has fallen. At present, the Soviet revisionists are "making a feint to the east while attacking in the west," and stepping up their contention in Europe and their expansion in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and every place their hands can reach. The U.S.-Soviet contention for hegemony is the cause of world intranquillity. It cannot be covered up by any false appearances they create and is already perceived by an increasing number of people and countries. It has met with strong resistance from the Third World and has caused resentment on the part of Japan and West European countries. Beset with troubles internally and externally, the two hegemonic powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — find the going tougher and tougher. As the verse goes, "Flowers fall off, do what one may," they are in a sorry plight indeed. This has been further proved by the U.S.-Soviet talks last June and the subsequent course of events.

"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." The ambitions of the two hegemonic powers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — are one thing, but whether they can achieve them is quite another. They want to devour China, but find it too tough even to bite. Europe and Japan are also hard to bite, not to speak of the vast Third World. U.S. imperialism started to go downhill after its defeat in the war of aggression against Korea. It has openly admitted that it is increasingly on the decline; it could not but pull out of Viet Nam. Over the last two decades, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, has made a socialist country degenerate into a social-imperialist country. Internally, it has restored capitalism, enforced a fascist dictatorship and enslaved the people of all nationalities, thus deepening the political and economic contradictions as well as contradictions among nationalities. Externally, it has invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, massed its troops along the Chinese border, sent troops into the People's Republic of Mongolia, supported the traitorous Lon Nol clique, suppressed the Polish workers' rebellion, intervened in Egypt, causing the expulsion of the Soviet experts, dismembered Pakistan and carried out subversive activities in many Asian and African countries. This series of facts has profoundly exposed its ugly features as the new Czar

and its reactionary nature, namely, **"socialism in words, imperialism in deeds."** The more evil and foul things it does, the sooner the time when Soviet revisionism will be relegated to the historical museum by the people of the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

Recently, the Brezhnev renegade clique has talked a lot of nonsense on Sino-Soviet relations. It alleges that China is against relaxation of world tension and unwilling to improve Sino-Soviet relations, etc. These words are directed to the Soviet people and the people of other countries in a vain attempt to alienate their friendly feelings for the Chinese people and disguise the true features of the new Czar. These words are above all meant for the monopoly capitalists in the hope of getting more money in reward for services in opposing China and communism. This was an old trick of Hitler's, only Brezhnev is playing it more clumsily. If you are so anxious to relax world tension, why don't you show your good faith by doing a thing or two — for instance, withdraw your armed forces from Czechoslovakia or the People's Republic of Mongolia and return the four northern islands to Japan? China has not occupied any foreign countries' territory. Must China give away all the territory north of the Great Wall to the Soviet revisionists in order to show that we favour relaxation of world tension and are willing to improve Sino-Soviet relations? The Chinese people are not to be deceived or cowed. The Sino-Soviet controversy on matters of principle should not hinder the normalization of relations between the two states on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Sino-Soviet boundary question should be settled peacefully through negotiations free from any threat. **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack"** — this is our consistent principle. And we mean what we say.

We should point out here that necessary compromises between revolutionary countries and imperialist countries must be distinguished from collusion and compromise between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism. Lenin put it well: **"There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot."** (*"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*) The Brest-Litovsk Treaty concluded by Lenin with German imperialism comes under the former category; and the doings of Khrushchov and Brezhnev, both betrayers of Lenin, fall under the latter.

Lenin pointed out repeatedly that imperialism means aggression and war. Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement of May 20, 1970: **"The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."** It will be possible

to prevent such a war, so long as the peoples, who are becoming more and more awakened, keep the orientation clearly in sight, heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and persevere in struggle. Should the imperialists be bent on unleashing such a war, it will inevitably give rise to greater revolutions on a worldwide scale and hasten their doom.

In the excellent situation now prevailing at home and abroad, it is most important for us to run China's affairs well. Therefore, on the international front, our Party must uphold proletarian internationalism, uphold the Party's consistent policies, strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in particular, against the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end. On the domestic front, we must pursue our Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unite with all the forces that can be united and work hard to build our country into a powerful socialist state, so as to make a greater contribution to mankind.

We must uphold Chairman Mao's teachings that we should **"be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** and should **"dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony,"** maintain high vigilance and be fully prepared against any war of aggression that imperialism may launch and particularly against surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Our heroic People's Liberation Army and our vast militia must be prepared at all times to wipe out any enemy that may invade.

Taiwan Province is our motherland's sacred territory, and the people in Taiwan are our kith and kin. We have infinite concern for our compatriots in Taiwan, who love and long for the motherland. Our compatriots in Taiwan can have a bright future only by returning to the embrace of the motherland. Taiwan must be liberated. Our great motherland must be unified. This is the common aspiration and sacred duty of the people of all nationalities of the country, including our compatriots in Taiwan. Let us strive together to attain this goal.

Comrades!

We must be aware that although we have achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction, we are always lagging behind the needs of the objective situation. We still face very heavy tasks in our socialist revolution. The tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution need to be carried on in a thoroughgoing way on all fronts. More efforts are required to overcome the shortcomings, mistakes and certain unhealthy tendencies in our work. Our whole Party must make good use of the present opportune time to consolidate and carry forward the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and work well in all fields.

First of all, we should continue to do a good job of criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying style of work. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, to educate the whole Party, Army and the people of all nationalities of our country in class struggle and two-line struggle, and criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook so that the masses will be able to draw on the historic experience of the ten struggles between the two lines in our Party, acquire a deeper understanding of the characteristics and laws of class struggle and two-line struggle in the period of socialist revolution in our country and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

All Party members should conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, adhere to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, combat idealism and metaphysics and remould their world outlook. Senior cadres, in particular, should make greater efforts to **"read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism,"** try their best to master the basic theories of Marxism, learn the history of the struggles of Marxism against old and new revisionism and opportunism of all descriptions, and understand how Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution. We hope that through sustained efforts **"the vast numbers of our cadres and the people will be able to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism."**

We should attach importance to the class struggle in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, transform all parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the economic base. We should handle correctly the two types of contradictions of different nature. We should continue to carry out in earnest all of Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We should continue to carry out well

the revolution in literature and art, the revolution in education and the revolution in public health, and the work with regard to the educated youth who go to mountainous and other rural areas, run the May 7 cadres schools well and support all the newly emerging things of socialism.

Economically ours is still a poor and developing country. We should thoroughly carry out the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism**, and grasp revolution and promote production. We should continue to implement the principle of **"taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor"** and the series of policies of walking on two legs, and build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and frugality. Marx pointed out that **"the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself."** One basic experience from our socialist construction over more than two decades is to rely on the masses. In order to learn from Taching in industry and to learn from Tachai in agriculture, we must persist in putting proletarian politics in command, vigorously launch mass movements and give full scope to the enthusiasm, wisdom and creativeness of the masses. On this basis, planning and co-ordination must be strengthened, rational rules and regulations improved and both central and local initiative further brought into full play. Party organizations should pay close attention to questions of economic policy, concern themselves with the well-being of the masses, do a good job of investigation and study, and strive effectively to fulfil or overfulfil the state plans for developing the national economy so that our socialist economy will make still greater progress.

We should further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party. **Of the seven sectors — industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party — it is the Party that exercises overall leadership.** Party committees at all levels should study "On Strengthening the Party Committee System," "Methods of Work of Party Committees" and other writings by Chairman Mao, sum up their experience and further strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party ideologically, organizationally as well as through rules and regulations. At the same time the role of revolutionary committees and mass organizations should be brought into full play. We should strengthen the leadership given to primary organizations in order to ensure that leadership there is truly in the hands of Marxists and in the hands of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other working people, and that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is

fulfilled in every primary organization. Party committees at all levels should apply democratic centralism better and improve their art of leadership. It should be emphatically pointed out that quite a few Party committees are engrossed in daily routines and minor matters, paying no attention to major issues. This is very dangerous. If they do not change, they will inevitably step on to the road of revisionism. It is hoped that comrades throughout the Party, leading comrades in particular, will guard against such a tendency and earnestly change such a style of work.

The experience with regard to combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leadership, which the masses created during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has provided us with favourable conditions for training millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in accordance with the five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao. Party organizations at all levels should keep on the agenda this fundamental task which is crucial for generations to come. Chairman Mao says: **"Revolutionary successors of the proletariat are invariably brought up in great storms."** They must be tempered in class struggle and two-line struggle and educated by both positive and negative experience. Therefore, a genuine Communist must be ready to accept a higher or lower post and be able to stand the test of going up or stepping down many times. All cadres, veteran and new alike, must maintain close ties with the masses, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and impetuosity, go to any post as required by the Party and the people and firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies under every circumstance.

Comrades! The Tenth National Congress of the Party will have a far-reaching influence on the course of our Party's development. We will soon convene the Fourth National People's Congress. Our people and the revolutionary people of all countries place great hopes on our Party and our country. We are confident that our Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, will uphold his proletarian revolutionary line, do our work well and live up to the expectations of our people and the people throughout the world!

The future is bright, the road is tortuous. Let our whole Party unite, let our people of all nationalities unite, be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTION

(Delivered at the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 24 and adopted on August 28, 1973)

Wang Hung-wen

Comrades!

As entrusted by the Central Committee of the Party, I will now give a brief explanation of the revision of our Party's Constitution.

In accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee concerning

the revision of the Party Constitution, a working conference of the Central Committee which was convened last May discussed the question of revising the Party Constitution adopted at the Ninth National Congress. After that conference, the Party committees of the provinces, the municipalities directly under the central authority, and the autonomous regions, the Party committees of the greater military commands and the Party organizations directly under the Central Committee all set up groups for the revision of the Party Constitution, extensively consulted the masses inside and outside the Party and formally submitted 41 drafts to the Central Committee. At the same time, the masses inside and outside the Party in various places directly mailed in many suggestions for revision. The draft of the revised Constitution now submitted to the congress for discussion was drawn up according to Chairman Mao's specific proposals for the revision and on the basis of serious study of all the drafts and suggestions sent in.

In the discussion on the revision, all Party comrades were of the view that since the Party's Ninth National Congress, the whole Party, Army and people, guided by the line of that congress, which was formulated under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, have done the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a deep-going way, smashed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and won great victories in all aspects of the domestic and international struggles. Practice over the past four years and more has fully proved that both the political line and organizational line of the Ninth Congress are correct. The Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress upholds our Party's consistent and fundamental principles, reflects the new experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and has played a positive part in the political life of our whole Party, Army and people. The stipulations in the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress regarding the nature, guiding ideology, basic programme and basic line of our Party have been retained in the general programme of the present draft. Some adjustments have been made in the structure and content. There are not many changes in the articles. The number of



words has been slightly reduced. The paragraph concerning Lin Piao in the general programme of the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress was completely deleted. This was the unanimous demand of the whole Party, Army and people. It was also the inevitable result of Lin Piao's betrayal of the Party and the country and his own final rejection of the Party and people.

Compared with the Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress, the present draft is mainly characterized by its richer content with regard to the experience of the struggle between the two lines. This was a common feature of all the drafts sent in. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party has been victorious in the ten major struggles between the two lines and accumulated rich experience of defeating Right and "Left" opportunist lines, which is most valuable to the whole Party. Chairman Mao says, "To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization." All the comrades of our Party must pay close attention to the question of line, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen our Party building and ensure that the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism is carried through.

What has been added in the draft in this respect?

One. Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and it is also a deep-going Party consolidation movement. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the whole Party, Army and people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, have smashed the two bourgeois headquarters, the one headed by Liu Shao-chi and the other by Lin Piao, thus striking a hard blow at all domestic and international reactionary forces. **The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.** The draft fully affirms the great victories and the tremendous significance of this revolution and has the following statement explicitly written into it: "Revolutions like this will have to be carried out many times in the future." Historical experience tells us that not only will the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in society at home inevitably find expression in our Party, but imperialism and social-imperialism abroad will inevitably recruit agents from within our Party in order to carry out aggression and subversion against us. In 1966 when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was just rising, Chairman Mao already pointed out: "Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out." The living reality of class struggle has confirmed and will continue to confirm this objective

law as revealed by Chairman Mao. We must heighten our vigilance and understand the protractedness and complexity of this struggle. In order to constantly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and seize new victories for the socialist cause, it is necessary to deepen the socialist revolution in the ideological, political and economic spheres, to transform all those parts of the superstructure that do not conform to the socialist economic base and carry out many great political revolutions such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Two. Adherence to the principles: "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." Of these three principles — "the three dos and three don'ts" — put forward by Chairman Mao, the most fundamental is to practise Marxism and not revisionism. If one practises Marxism and wholeheartedly serves the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world, one is obliged to work for unity and be open and aboveboard; if one practises revisionism and exclusively serves the small number of exploiting class elements, one will inevitably go in for splits, intrigues and conspiracy. Revisionism is an international bourgeois ideological trend. Revisionists are agents whom the bourgeoisie, and imperialism, revisionism and reaction plant in our Party by means of sending them in or recruiting them from our ranks. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and similar careerists, conspirators, double-dealers and absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders, though they manifested themselves in somewhat different ways, were all essentially the same; they were all chieftains in practising revisionism and thoroughly turned bourgeois ideologically, politically and in their way of life. They were rotten to the core! Chairman Mao says, "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." This is absolutely true. The principles of "the three dos and three don'ts" have been entered into the general programme of the draft in accordance with suggestions sent in. In Point (1) under Article 3 concerning the requirements for Party members and in Point (1) under Article 12 concerning the tasks of the primary Party organizations, the words "criticize revisionism" have been added in accordance with the views expressed by the worker, peasant and soldier comrades at the forum held by the Peking Municipal Party Committee on the revision of the Party Constitution as well as suggestions from some provinces and municipalities. Revisionism remains the main danger today. To study Marxism and criticize revisionism is our long-term task for strengthening the building of our Party ideologically.

Three. We must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide. Chairman Mao pointed out: **Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.** During the discussions on the revision of the Party Constitution, many comrades, reviewing the Party's history and their own experiences, held that this was most important in the two-line struggle within the Party. In the early period of the democratic revolution, there were several occasions when wrong lines held sway in our

Party. In the later period of the democratic revolution and in the period of socialist revolution, when the correct line represented by Chairman Mao has been predominant, there have also been lessons in that certain wrong lines or wrong views were taken as correct for a time by many people and supported as such. The correct line represented by Chairman Mao has waged resolute struggles against those errors and won out. When confronted with issues that concern the line and the overall situation, a true Communist must act without any selfish considerations and dare to go against the tide, fearing neither removal from his post, expulsion from the Party, imprisonment, divorce nor guillotine.

Of course, in the face of an erroneous trend there is not only the question of whether one dares go against it but also that of whether one is able to distinguish it. Class struggle and the two-line struggle in the historical period of socialism are extremely complex. When one tendency is covered by another, many comrades often fail to note it. Moreover, those who intrigue and conspire deliberately put up false fronts, which makes it all the more difficult to discern. Through discussion, many comrades have come to realize that according to the dialectic materialist point of view, all objective things are knowable. **"The naked eye is not enough, we must have the aid of the telescope and the microscope. The Marxist method is our telescope and microscope in political and military matters."** So long as one diligently studies the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and those of Chairman Mao, takes an active part in the actual struggle and works hard to remould one's world outlook, one can constantly raise the ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism and differentiate between correct and wrong lines and views.

In waging struggle, we must study Chairman Mao's theory concerning the struggle between the two lines and learn from his practice; we must not only be firm in principle, but also carry out correct policies, draw a clear distinction between the two types of contradictions of different nature, make sure to unite with the vast majority and observe Party discipline.

Four. We must train millions of successors for the cause of the proletarian revolution in the course of mass struggles. Chairman Mao said, **"In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their colour, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution."** As stated above, those to be trained are not just one or two persons, but millions. Such a task cannot be fulfilled unless the

whole Party attaches importance to it. In discussing the revision of the Party Constitution, many elder comrades expressed the strong desire that we must further improve the work of training successors, so that the cause of our proletarian revolution initiated by the Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao will be carried forward by an endless flow of successors. Many young comrades on their part warmly pledged to learn modestly from the strong points of veteran cadres who have been tempered through long years of revolutionary war and revolutionary struggle and have rich experience, to be strict with themselves and to do their best to carry on the revolution. Both veteran and new cadres expressed their determination to learn each other's strong points and overcome their own shortcomings. In the light of the views expressed, a sentence about the necessity of training successors has been added to the general programme of the draft, and another sentence about the application of the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young in leading bodies at all levels has been added to the articles. We must, in accordance with the five requirements Chairman Mao has laid down for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, lay stress on selecting outstanding persons from among the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants and placing them in leading posts at all levels. Attention must also be paid to training women cadres and minority nationality cadres.

Five. We must strengthen the Party's centralized leadership and promote the Party's traditional style of work. The political party of the proletariat is the highest form of the organization of the proletariat, and the Party must exercise leadership in everything; this is an important Marxist principle. The draft has incorporated suggestions from various units on strengthening the Party's centralized leadership. It is laid down in the articles that state organs, the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary mass organizations **"must all accept the Party's centralized leadership."** Organizationally, the Party's centralized leadership should be given expression in two respects: First, as regards the relationship between various organizations at the same level, of the seven sectors — industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party — **it is the Party that exercises overall leadership; the Party is not parallel to the others and still less is it under the leadership of any other.** Second, as regards the relationship between higher and lower levels, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee. This has long been a rule in our Party and it must be adhered to. We must strengthen the Party's centralized leadership, and a Party committee's leadership must not be replaced by a "joint

conference" of several sectors. But at the same time, it is necessary to give full play to the role of the revolutionary committees, the other sectors and organizations at all levels. The Party committee must practise democratic centralism and strengthen its collective leadership. It must unite people "from all corners of the country" and not practise mountain-stronghold sectionalism. It must "let all people have their say" and not "let one person alone have the say." The most essential thing about the Party's centralized leadership is leadership through a correct ideological and political line. Party committees at all levels must, on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, achieve **unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action.**

The style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism has been written into the general programme of the draft. Communists of the older generations are familiar with this fine tradition of our Party as cultivated by Chairman Mao; however, they still face the question of how to carry it forward under new historical conditions, whereas for the many new Party members, there is the question of learning, inheriting and carrying it forward. Chairman Mao often educates us with accounts of the Party's activities in its years of bitter struggle, asking us to share the same lot, rough or smooth, with the broad masses. We must beware of the inroads of bourgeois ideology and the attacks by sugar-coated bullets; we must be modest and prudent, work hard and lead a plain life, resolutely oppose privilege and earnestly overcome all such unhealthy tendencies as "going in by the back door."

Now, I would like to discuss with special emphasis the question of accepting criticism and supervision from the masses. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of working people are the masters of our country. They have the right to exercise revolutionary supervision over cadres of all ranks of our Party and state organs. This concept has taken deeper root throughout the Party, thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, there are still a small number of cadres, especially some leading cadres, who will not tolerate differing views of the masses inside or outside the Party. They even suppress criticism and retaliate, and it is quite serious in some individual cases. In handling problems among the people, Party discipline absolutely forbids such wrong practices as resorting to "suppression if unable to persuade, and arrest if unable to suppress." In the draft, the sentence that "it is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism and to retaliate" has been

added to the articles. We should approach this question from the high plane of two-line struggle to understand it, and resolutely fight against such violations of Party discipline. We must have faith in the masses, rely on them, constantly use the weapons of arousing the masses to air their views freely, write big-character posters and hold great debates and strive "to create a political situation in which there are **both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to facilitate our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, enable our country to build a modern industry and modern agriculture at a fairly rapid pace, consolidate our Party and state and make them better able to weather storm and stress.**"

Six. It is our Party's consistent principle to uphold proletarian internationalism. This time we have further included "Oppose great-power chauvinism" in the draft. We will for ever stand together with the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world to oppose imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and at present to oppose especially the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The danger of a new world war still exists. We must, without fail, prepare well against any war of aggression and guard against surprise attack by imperialism and social-imperialism.

Chairman Mao says: "In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely." Our country has a large population, vast territory and abundant resources. We must make our country prosperous and strong and we are fully capable of doing it. However, we must persist in the principle of "never seek hegemony" and must never be a superpower under any circumstances. All Party comrades must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings that we must never be conceited, not even after a hundred years, and never be cocky, not even after the twenty-first century. At home, too, we must oppose every manifestation of "great-power" chauvinism, and further strengthen the revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole Army and the people of all the nationalities of the country to speed up our socialist revolution and socialist construction and strive to fulfil our due internationalist obligations.

Comrades! Ours is a great, glorious and correct Party. We are confident that the whole Party, acting according to the political line defined by the Tenth Congress and the new Party Constitution adopted by it, can surely build our Party into a stronger and more vigorous one. Let us, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, unite to win still greater victories!

Constitution of the Communist Party of China

(Adopted by the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on August 28, 1973)

Chapter 1

General Programme

The Communist Party of China is the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking.

The basic programme of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism.

Through more than fifty years of arduous struggle, the Communist Party of China has led the Chinese people in winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution, great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction and great victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance.

Such is China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration. Revolutions like this will have to be carried out many times in the future.

The Party must rely on the working class, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and lead the people of all the nationalities of our country in carry-

ing on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; lead the people in building socialism independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results; and lead them in preparing against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people.

The Communist Party of China upholds proletarian internationalism and opposes great-power chauvinism; it firmly unites with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over, unites with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and fights together with them to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — to overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, and to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.

The Communist Party of China has strengthened itself and grown in the course of the struggle against both Right and "Left" opportunist lines. Comrades throughout the Party must have the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, must adhere to the principles of practising Marxism and not revisionism, working for unity and not for splits, and being open and aboveboard and not engaging in intrigues and conspiracy, must be good at correctly distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handling them, must develop the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism, and must train millions of successors for the cause of proletarian revolution, so as to ensure that the Party's cause will advance for ever along the Marxist line.

The future is bright, the road is tortuous. Members of the Communist Party of China, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Chapter II

Membership

Article 1 Any Chinese worker, poor peasant, lower-middle peasant, revolutionary armyman or any other revolutionary element who has reached the age of eighteen and who accepts the Constitution of the Party, joins a Party organization and works actively in it, carries out the Party's decisions, observes Party discipline and pays membership dues may become a member of the Communist Party of China.

Article 2 Applicants for Party membership must go through the procedure for admission individually. An applicant must be recommended by two Party members, fill out an application form for Party membership and be examined by a Party branch, which must seek the opinions of the broad masses inside and outside the Party. Application is subject to acceptance by the general membership meeting of the Party branch and approval by the next higher Party committee.

Article 3 Members of the Communist Party of China must:

(1) Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and criticize revisionism;

(2) Work for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world;

(3) Be able at uniting with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the state always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries;

(4) Consult with the masses when matters arise;

(5) Be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.

Article 4 When Party members violate Party discipline, the Party organizations at the levels concerned shall, within their functions and powers and on the merits of each case, take appropriate disciplinary measures — warning, serious warning, removal from posts in the Party, placing on probation within the Party, or expulsion from the Party.

The period for which a Party member is placed on probation shall not exceed two years. During this period, he has no right to vote or elect or be elected.

A Party member whose revolutionary will has degenerated and who does not change despite repeat-

ed education may be persuaded to withdraw from the Party.

When a Party member asks to withdraw from the Party, the Party branch concerned shall, with the approval of its general membership meeting, remove his name from the Party rolls and report the matter to the next higher Party committee for the record.

Proven renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road, degenerates and alien-class elements must be cleared out of the Party and not be re-admitted.

Chapter III

Organizational Principle of the Party

Article 5 The organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism.

The leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall be elected through democratic consultation in accordance with the requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution and the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young.

The whole Party must observe unified discipline: The individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire Party is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall regularly report on their work to congresses or general membership meetings, constantly listen to the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party and accept their supervision. Party members have the right to criticize organizations and leading members of the Party at all levels and make proposals to them. If a Party member holds different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the Party organizations, he is allowed to reserve his views and has the right to bypass the immediate leadership and report directly to higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee. It is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism and to retaliate. It is essential to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

Article 6 The highest leading body of the Party is the National Party Congress and, when it is not in session, the Central Committee elected by it. The

leading bodies of Party organizations in the localities, in army units and in various departments are the Party congresses or general membership meetings at their respective levels and the Party committees elected by them. Party congresses at all levels are convened by Party committees at their respective levels. The convening of Party congresses in the localities, in army units and in various departments and their elected Party committee members are subject to approval by the higher Party organizations.

Party committees at all levels shall set up their working bodies or dispatch their representative organs in accordance with the principles of close ties with the masses and simple and efficient structure.

Article 7 State organs, the People's Liberation Army and the militia, labour unions, poor and lower-middle peasant associations, women's federations, the Communist Youth League, the Red Guards, the Little Red Guards and other revolutionary mass organizations must all accept the centralized leadership of the Party.

Party committees or leading Party groups may be set up in state organs and popular organizations.

Chapter IV

Central Organizations of the Party

Article 8 The National Party Congress shall be convened every five years. Under special circumstances, it may be convened before its due date or postponed.

Article 9 The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party elects the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee.

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party is convened by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

When the Central Committee is not in plenary session, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee.

Under the leadership of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a number of necessary organs, which are compact and efficient, shall be set up to attend to the day-to-day work of the Party, the government and the Army in a centralized way.

Chapter V

Party Organizations in the Localities and the Army Units

Article 10 Local Party congresses at the county level and upwards and Party congresses in the People's Liberation Army at the regimental level and upwards shall be convened every three years. Under special circumstances, they may be convened before their due date or postponed.

Party committees at all levels in the localities and the army units elect their standing committees, secretaries and deputy secretaries.

Chapter VI

Primary Organizations of the Party

Article 11 Party branches, general Party branches or primary Party committees shall be set up in factories, mines and other enterprises, people's communes, offices, schools, shops, neighbourhoods, companies of the People's Liberation Army and other primary units in accordance with the requirements of the revolutionary struggle and the size of the Party membership.

Party branches and general Party branches shall hold elections once a year and primary Party committees shall hold elections every two years. Under special circumstances, the election may take place before its due date or be postponed.

Article 12 The main tasks of the primary organizations of the Party are:

(1) To lead the Party members and non-Party members in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought conscientiously and criticizing revisionism;

(2) To give constant education to the Party members and non-Party members concerning the ideological and political line and lead them in fighting resolutely against the class enemy;

(3) To propagate and carry out the policies of the Party, implement its decisions and fulfil every task assigned by the Party and the state;

(4) To maintain close ties with the masses, constantly listen to their opinions and demands and wage an active ideological struggle so as to keep Party life vigorous;

(5) To take in new Party members, enforce Party discipline and constantly consolidate the Party organizations, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, so as to maintain the purity of the Party ranks.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

August 29, 1973

THE Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held solemnly in Peking from August 24 to 28. It was a congress of unity, a congress of victory and a congress full of vigour.

The great leader of our Party Comrade Mao Tsetung presided over the congress.

The agenda of the congress were: 1. Comrade Chou En-lai delivered the political report on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; 2. Comrade Wang Hung-wen delivered the report on the revision of the Party Constitution on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and submitted to the congress the "Draft of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China"; 3. The Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was elected.

The congress formally opened on August 24.

When Chairman Mao appeared on the rostrum, cheers resounded through the hall. The delegates excitedly greeted him with prolonged and hearty applause and cheered, "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" Chairman Mao warmly waved to the delegates.

The congress elected a presidium composed of 148 delegates.

The congress unanimously elected Chairman Mao Tsetung chairman of the presidium, Comrades Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Kang Sheng, Yeh Chien-ying and Li Teh-sheng vice-chairmen of the presidium and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao secretary-general of the presidium.

Also seated in the front row on the rostrum were: Comrades Liu Po-cheng, Chiang Ching, Chu Teh, Hsu

Shih-yu, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Hsien-nien, Yao Wen-yuan, Tung Pi-wu, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Hua Kuo-feng and Wu Teh.

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China convened at a time when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been smashed, the line of the Party's Ninth National Congress has won great victories and the situation both at home and abroad is excellent. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and comrades throughout the Party made full preparations for this historic congress. A total of 1,249 delegates were elected to the congress at the end of an extensive democratic process, which included repeated deliberations and consultations about the candidates and seeking the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the Party in the areas or organizations to which the candidates belonged. Prior to the formal opening of the congress, all the delegates had seriously discussed the drafts of all the congress documents. Inspired and joyful, the people of the whole country greeted the Tenth Congress with concrete deeds.

On the day the congress formally opened, the delegates from the four corners of our great socialist motherland entered the stately assembly hall by way of a spacious lobby with huge portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the wall. Among the delegates were those from the Party membership of the industrial workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, those from the Party membership in the People's Liberation Army, who came from frontier outposts where they vigilantly guarded our motherland, and those from the Party membership of revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and other working people. Delegates from among the

worker, peasant and soldier Party members accounted for 67 per cent of the total number. Over 20 per cent of the delegates were women Party members. Delegates of fraternal nationalities other than the Hans also constituted a certain proportion of the total. Delegates elected from Party members in various places of our country, who were natives of Taiwan Province, our motherland's sacred territory yet to be liberated, attended a national congress of the Party for the first time. Bearing the mandate of the 28 million Party members throughout the country and bringing with them the aspirations of hundreds of millions of people of all the nationalities, the delegates worked together with our great leader Chairman Mao in an atmosphere of unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

On August 28, after serious and lively discussions, the congress unanimously adopted the political report given by Comrade Chou En-lai, the report on the revision of the Party Constitution given by Comrade Wang Hung-wen and also the Constitution of the Communist Party of China. The delegates said with joy that these documents, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, analyse the excellent situation both at home and abroad, fully affirm the great victories won on all fronts under the guidance of the line of the Ninth Congress, sum up the basic experience of the two-line struggle, especially that of the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and further define the orientation and tasks of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that they constitute the fighting programme for the whole Party, Army and people.

After repeated deliberation and discussion, the congress elected the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China by secret ballot. When the results of the election were announced, thunderous and enthusiastic applause and cheers reverberated again through the hall.

The 195 Members and 124 Alternate Members elected to the Central Committee embody the combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. Some are proletarian revolutionaries of the older generations, who went through the First and Second Revolutionary Civil Wars in the early years of the Party, some are leading cadres from various fronts, who stood the test of gunfire in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation and the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, others are outstanding fighters in the three great revolutionary movements (i.e. class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment) and in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction during the period of socialist revolution, and still others are young comrades who newly joined the Party during

the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Gathered together, the old, the middle-aged and the young studied side by side and encouraged each other. The delegates said gladly that the composition of the Tenth Central Committee fully demonstrates that our Party is flourishing and has no lack of successors and that it is firmly united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The congress indignantly denounced the Lin Piao anti-Party clique for its crimes. All the delegates firmly supported this resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: Expel Lin Piao, the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary double-dealer, renegade and traitor, from the Party once and for all; expel Chen Po-ta, principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, anti-communist Kuomintang element, Trotskyite, renegade, enemy agent and revisionist, from the Party once and for all, and dismiss him from all posts inside and outside the Party. The delegates unanimously supported the decisions made and all the corresponding measures taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China with regard to the other principal members of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique.

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China called on the whole Party, Army and people to study its documents conscientiously and implement them thoroughly, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to the basic principles "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," and unite to win still greater victories!

The congress pointed out: At present we should continue to put the task of criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying style of work above all else. We should make full use of that teacher by negative example, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, to educate the whole Party, Army and people in class struggle and two-line struggle, and should study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook. We should continue to do well the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure including all spheres of culture, work hard to grasp revolution and promote production, other work and preparedness against war and do our work better in all fields. We should act in accordance with the political line defined by the Tenth Congress and the new Party Constitution adopted by it, and build our Party into an ever stronger and more vigorous Party, which will lead the people of all nationalities in the country and unite with all the forces that can be united to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The congress pointed out: The present international situation is characterized by great disorder on the earth. Such great disorder is a good thing, and not a bad thing, and it is further developing in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. We must uphold proletarian internationalism, adhere to the consistent policies of our Party, strengthen our unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world, strengthen our unity with all the countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in particular against the hegemonism of the two superpowers — the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations the world over and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to

the end. The congress called on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army and the people of all nationalities in our country to strengthen without fail their preparations against wars of aggression, be on guard against the outbreak of an imperialist world war and particularly against surprise attacks by social-imperialism and be ready to wipe out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely any enemy that dare invade us!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live the Tenth National Congress of the Party, a congress of unity and victory!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

List of Members of the Presidium of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China

(148 Members)

Chairman: Mao Tsetung

Vice-Chairmen: Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen,
Kang Sheng, Yeh Chien-ying,
Li Teh-sheng

Secretary-General: Chang Chun-chiao

*(The following are listed in the order of
the number of strokes in their surnames)*

Liu Po-cheng, Chiang Ching (f.), Chu Teh, Hsu Shih-yu, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Hsien-nien, Yao Wen-yuan, Tung Pi-wu, Chi Teng-kuei, Wang Tung-hsing, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh,

Ting Sheng, Ma Tien-shui, Ma Ning, Ma Chin-hua (f.), Yu Hui-yung, Teng Hsiao-ping, Teng Ying-chao (f.), Wang Ti, Wang Chen, Wang Liu-sheng, Wang Pi-

cheng, Wang Yung-chen, Wang Hsiu-chen (f.), Wang Huai-hsiang, Wang Teh-shan, Pa Sang (f.), Yu Tai-chung, Mao Yuan-hsin, Wei Kuo-ching, Wei Tsai-yu, Wen Hsiang-lan (f.), Varisjan Turdi, Pai Ju-ping, Pi-Ting-chun, Hsuan Shun-chi (f.), Jen Jung, Liu Tzu-hou, Liu Hsing-yuan, Liu Ching-tang, Liu Chien-hsun, Liu Chun-chiao, Ulanfu, Sun Yu-kuo, Chiang Li-yin, Chu Kuang-ya, Chu Ke-chia, Chu Hsiu-feng (f.), Chu Ming-tsang, Hua Lin-sen, Nien Chi-jung, Hsing Yen-tzu (f.), Chen Yun, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsien-jui, Ziya, Tu Ping, Yang Yung, Yang Teh-chih, Li Ta-chang, Li Chih-min, Li Hsiu-lan (f.), Li Su-wen (f.), Li Jui-shan, Chang Feng-ying (f.), Chang Ping-hua, Chang Shih-chung, Chang Ta-chih, Chang Chiang-lin, Chang Yen-cheng, Chang Hsiu-chih (f.), Chang Ti-hsueh, Chang Heng-yun, Chang Tsung-hsun, Chang

Hung-chih, Lu Yu-lan (f.), Lu Tsun-chieh (f.), Wu Hsiang-pi, Wu Kuei-hsien (f.), Shih Ke-chi, Sung Pei-chang, Yu Chiu-li, Tung Chun-liang, Wang Chia-tao, She Chi-teh, Su Chen-hua, Chou Hsing, Chou Yi-liang, Chou Chien-jen, Chou Li-chin (f.), Paojihletai (f.), Hsien Heng-han, Lin Li-yun (f.), Chin Tsu-min, Chao Tzu-yang, Hao Chien-hsiu (f.), Hao Liang, Keng Piao, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Hsu Ching-hsien, Kuo Hung-chieh, Kuo Mo-jo, Ni Chih-fu, Tang Chi-shan, Tang Chung-fu, Tang Wen-sheng (f.), Hai Ka-tzu, Chien Hsueh-sen,

Nieh Jung-chen, Chin Chi-wei, Chu Hui-fen (f.), Mei Hsiao-ya (f.), Wei Feng-ying (f.), Huang Lin-ying (f.), Pan Mei-ying (f.), Tsao Yi-ou (f.), Tsao Lien-feng (f.), Kang Chien-min, Liang Chin-tang, Chi Peng-fei, Peng Chung, Han Ying, Han Hsien-chu, Su Yu, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Tseng Shao-shan, Tseng Ssu-yu, Hsieh Chen-hua, Hsieh Ching-yi (f.), Tung Ming-hui, Lei Kuei-mei (f.), Tan Chi-lung, Saifudin, Tsai Chang (f.), Tsai Hsieh-pin, Tsai Shu-mei (f.), Pan Shih-kao, Lu Jui-lin, Fan Teh-ling, Wei Ping-kuei.

List of the 319 Members and Alternate Members of the Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

The 195 Members of the Central Committee

Mao Tsetung

*(The following are listed in the order of
the number of strokes in their surnames)*

Ting Sheng, Ting Ke-tse, Ting Kuo-yu, Ma Ning, Ma Tien-shui, Yu Sang, Yu Hui-yung, Yu Hung-liang, Wang Cheng, Wang Chen, Wang Pi-cheng, Wang Hung-kun, Wang Hsiu-chen (f.), Wang Kuo-fan, Wang Hung-wen, Wang Shu-sheng, Wang Shou-tao, Wang Shu-chen (f.), Wang Huai-hsiang, Wang Chao-chu, Wang Chia-hsiang, Tien Pao, Pa Sang (f.), Fang Yi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Teng Ying-chao (f.), Yu Tai-chung, Kung Shih-chuah, Kung Chao-nien, Ulanfu, Wei Kuo-ching, Feng Hsuan, Ismayil Aymat, Pai Ju-ping, Tien Hua-kuei, Tien Wei-hsin, Pi Ting-chun, Yeh Chien-ying, Liu Wei, Liu Tzu-hou, Liu Hsing-yuan, Liu Po-

cheng, Liu Chun-yi, Liu Hsien-chuan, Liu Chien-hsun, Liu Sheng-tien, Liu Hsiang-ping (f.), Liu Hsi-chang, Chiang Ching (f.), Chiang Li-yin, Chiang Yung-hui, Chiang Hsieh-yuan, Chu Teh, Chu Mu-chih, Hsu Shih-yu, Lu Yu-lan (f.), An Ping-sheng, Chuang Tse-tung, Hua Kuo-feng, Hua Lin-sen, Chiao Kuan-hua, Jen Ssu-chung, Nien Chi-jung, Chi Teng-kuei, Hsing Yen-tzu (f.), Chen Yun, Chen Yu, Chen Kang, Chen Shih-chu, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsien-jui, Chen Chi-han, Chen Hsi-lien, Chen Mu-hua (f.), Tu Ping, Li Ta, Li Chiang, Li Chen, Li Ta-chang, Li Ching-chuan, Li Shui-ching, Li Jen-chih, Li Hsien-nien, Li Chih-min, Li Shun-ta, Li Su-wen (f.), Li Pao-hua, Li Fu-chun, Li Jui-shan, Li Teh-sheng, Ku Mu, Yang Yung, Yang Chun-fu, Yang Teh-chih, Wu Tao, Wu Teh, Wu Ta-sheng, Wu Kuei-hsien (f.), Su Ching, Su Chen-hua, Chang Tsai-chien, Chang Yun-yi, Chang

Ping-hua, Chang Ta-chih, Chang Chih-ming, Chang Yen-cheng, Chang Ti-hsueh, Chang Tsung-hsun, Chang Heng-yun, Chang Hung-chih, Chang Shu-chih, Chang Chun-chiao, Chang Wei-min, Chang Fu-kuei, Chang Fu-heng, Chang Ting-cheng, Chang Yi-hsiang, Wang Tung-hsing, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Tsen Kuo-jung, Sung Pei-chang, Yu Chiu-li, Chou Hsing, Chou Hung-pao, Chou Li-chin (f.), Chou Chun-lin, Chou Chien-jen, Chou En-lai, Paojihletai (f.), Tsung Hsi-yun, Lin Li-yun (f.), Lo Ching-chang, Lo Hsi-kang, Hsien Heng-han, Chin Tsu-min, Yao Wen-yuan, Jao Hsing-li, Tuan Chun-yi, Chu Chia-yao, Hu Chi-tsung, Chao Tzu-yang, Keng Piao, Keng Chi-chang, Chien Chih-kuang, Chien Cheng-ying (f.), Kuo Yu-feng, Kuo

Hung-chieh, Kuo Mo-jo, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Hsu Ching-hsien, Hsia Pang-yin, Tang Chi-shan, Tang Chung-fu, Ni Chih-fu, Nieh Jung-chen, Mo Hsien-yao, Chin Chi-wei, Tao Lu-chia, Chi Peng-fei, Kang Sheng, Huang Hua, Huang Chen, Wei Feng-ying (f.), Lu Tien-chi, Tsao Li-huai, Tsao Yi-ou (f.), Tsui Hai-lung, Liang Chin-tang, Han Ying, Han Hsien-chu, Su Yu, Tung Pi-wu, Tung Ming-hui, Fu Chuan-tso, Chiao Lin-yi, Tseng Shao-shan, Tseng Ssu-yu, Peng Shao-hui, Hsieh Chia-hsiang, Hsieh Ching-yi (f.), Lu Jui-lin, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Tsai Chang (f.), Tsai Hsiao, Tsai Hsieh-pin, Tsai Shu-mei (f.), Teng Tai-yuan, Tan Chih-lung, Tan Chen-lin, Liao Cheng-chih, Saifudin, Pan Shih-kao, Fan Teh-ling, Wei Ping-kuei.

The 124 Alternate Members of the Central Committee

Pu Ku-hsiang, Chilin Wandan (formerly transliterated as Chilinwangtan), Ma Ming, Ma Hsiao-liu, Ma Li-hsin, Ma Chin-hua (f.), Teng Hua, Wang Ti, Wang Chien, Wang Liu-sheng, Wang Kuang-lin, Wang Pai-teh, Wang Chih-chiang, Wang Mei-chi (f.), Wang Ching-sheng, Wang Teh-shan, Wen Hsiang-lan (f.), Yeh Fei, Yang Tsung (f.), Shih Shao-hua, Li Jih-nai, Feng Chan-wu, Feng Pin-teh, Shen Mao-kung, Lu Chung-yang, Pai Tung-tsai, Chiang Hua, Chiang Wei-ching, Lu Ho, Lu Tsun-chieh (f.), Jen Jung, Ta Leh (formerly transliterated as Ta Lo), Sun Chien, Sun Yu-kuo, Liu Hsi-yao, Liu Kuang-tao, Liu Chun-chiao, Liu Chen-hua, Hsiang Chung-hua, Chu Kuang-ya, Chu Ke-chia, Ruzi Turdi (formerly transliterated as Joutzutuerhti), Juan Po-sheng, Hsiao Ke, Wu Chung, Wu Tsung-shu, Wu Yu-teh, Wu Hsiang-pi, Wu Chin-chuan, Yang Kuei, Yang Ta-yi, Yang Po-lan (f.), Yang Chun-sheng, Yang Fu-chen (f.), Chen Yu-pao, Chen Tai-fu, Chen Ho-fa, Chen Chia-chung, Chen Pei-chen (f.), Li Hua-min, Li Shou-lin, Li Ting-shan, Li

Tsu-ken, Li Yao-sung, Chang Ling-pin, Chang Huai-lien, Chang Shih-chung, Chang Chiang-lin, Chang Ying-tsai, Chang Lin-chih, Chang Kuo-chuan, Chang Ssu-chou, Chang Chi-hui, Sung Shuang-lai, Sung Ching-yu, Sung Shih-lun, Lu Chin-lung, Wang Chia-tao, Wang Hsiang-chun (f.), She Chi-teh, Cheng San-sheng, Lin Li-ming, Lo Chun-ti (f.), Hu Wei, Hu Liang-tsai, Hu Chin-ti (f.), Chao Feng, Chao Hsing-yuan, Chao Hsin-chu, Yao Lien-wei, Yao Yi-lin, Hsu Chih, Tang Liang, Tang Ke-pi (f.), Tang Wen-sheng (f.), Tieh Ying, Janabil, Chien Hsueh-sen, Kao Shu-lan (f.), Chu Hui-fen (f.), Kuo Yao-ching, Kang Lin, Kang Chien-min, Huang Wen-ming, Huang Cheng-lien, Huang Tso-chen, Huang Chih-chen, Huang Ping-hsiu (f.), Huang Jung-hai, Lung Kuang-chien, Tsui Hsiu-fan, Pan Mei-ying (f.), Peng Chung, Peng Kuei-ho, Lu Ta-tung, Chiang Pao-ti (f.), Hsieh Chia-tang, Hsieh Chen-hua, Hsieh Wang-chun (f.), Liao Chih-kao, Pei Chou-yu, Li Yuan, Fan Hsiao-chu (f.), Hsueh Chin-lien (f.).

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE TENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

August 30, 1973

THE Tenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its first plenary session on August 30.

The central organs were elected at the session. The results of the election are as follows:

Chairman of the Central Committee:

Mao Tsetung.

Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee:

Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Kang Sheng, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Teh-sheng.

Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee:

(The following are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames)

Mao Tsetung, Wang Hung-wen, Wei Kuo-ching, Yeh Chien-ying, Liu Po-cheng, Chiang Ching (f.), Chu Teh, Hsu Shih-yu, Hua Kuo-feng, Chi Teng-kuei, Wu Teh, Wang Tung-hsing, Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Hsi-lien, Li Hsien-nien, Li Teh-sheng, Chang Chun-chiao, Chou En-lai, Yao Wen-yuan, Kang Sheng, Tung Pi-wu.

Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: Wu Kuei-hsien (f.), Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Saifudin.

Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: Mao Tsetung, Wang Hung-wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Chu Teh, Li Teh-sheng, Chang Chun-chiao, Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng, Tung Pi-wu.

